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## IS THE PROSODY OF SLAVIC \**PERGYŃI* REALLY NOT RECONSTRUCTIBLE?<sup>1</sup>

The paper offers an updated overview of lexical and toponymic reflexes of the Proto-Slavic topolexeme \**pergyŋi* (an alternative segmental reconstruction \**pergyňa* is dismissed on the basis of the oldest attestations of some related place names), drawing on the latter to obtain clues enabling us to reconstruct the original prosodic features of the word. In spite of the skepticism recently expressed by S. Pronk-Tiethoff, it turns out that combining the short quantity of the first syllable of some related Polish and Czech place names with the stress placement on the second syllable of the pleophonic sequence observed in two related Ukrainian and Russian place names permits us to reconstruct unequivocally its prosodic shape as \**pěrgyŋi* (a.p. *a*). This recognition is a serious piece of counterevidence against the native Slavic etymology, which assumes here a derivative from a prefixed root attested as *per-gýb-*. None of the etymologies proposed so far for \**pergyŋi* is free of factual or formal problems, although a borrowing from Old Germanic \**fergunjā* still appears to be the best solution. If this was the case, \**pergyŋi* becomes a clear counterexample to the prosodic adaptation rules established by Dutch accentologists for Germanic loanwords in Proto-Slavic.

Slavic accentology, Germanic loan-words  
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# 1. Introduction

The most recent systematic treatment of Germanic loanwords in Proto-Slavic, a book authored by Saskia Pronk-Tiethoff (2013),<sup>2</sup> differs from earlier syntheses in that it focuses mainly on aspects of accentological adaptation of words of a non-tonal language into a language with fairly complicated system of tones/intonations. It has been long known that prosodic properties of Slavic loanwords from Germanic are by no means uniform, following at least two competing patterns. It seems that the main objective of the book was to justify the undeniable adaptation of certain Germanic diphthongs and long vowels as acute syllabic centers, which had been considered difficult to reconcile with the concept of the nature of old acute developed within the framework of Dutch accentological school. Contrary to earlier accounts, Pronk-Tiethoff maintains that the observed picture results from an interplay of different phonetic and morphological factors. Namely, a distinction between Gothic and West Germanic borrowings is made; the former are believed to be generally adapted with barytone stress and the so-called “pre-Dybo tone”, the latter can, under certain conditions, be adapted as *a*-stressed words, characterized by an acute stressed initial syllable. To this category principally two groups of words should belong: those containing a Germanic root-final unvoiced stop (believed to have conserved the preaspiration continuing directly a presumed glottal articulation of Indo-European *mediae*), e.g. *\*buka*/*\*buky* ‘beech’, *\*stopa* ‘pestle’, and some masculine nouns, e. g. *\*šelmъ* ‘helmet’, *\*xlēbъ* ‘bread’ (as, according to this accentological school, there were no masculines with radical immobile “pre-Dybo tone” at a certain prehistoric stage of (Pre)Slavic).<sup>3</sup>

- 2 Generally speaking, the book, thought-provoking as it is, is characterized by a strong bias towards certain aspects of Slavo-Germanic Lehnwortkunde, which contrasts with the author’s blatant inability (or unwillingness) to deeper explore relevant lexical data of both Slavic and Germanic (she is relying chiefly on Kiparsky’s 1934 materials). When categorically denying a possibility of early Slavo-Germanic contacts, she is sometimes referring to certain not properly understood achievements of historical research. For example, the view that carriers of the Jastorf archaeological culture spoke Proto- (or Old) Germanic dialects when dwelling in northeastern Germany, whereas those carriers of essentially the same archaeological culture who subsequently migrated southeast and settled down in southern Poland (cf. Woźniak et al. 2013) or in the Dniester drainage (giving rise to the so-called Poienеști-Lukašivka culture) did not, remains her individual idiosyncrasy.

Being heavily busy with other matters, I had to give up writing a thorough review of Pronk-Tiethoff's book which it certainly deserves. Nevertheless, as its fragments coincide with my current work on archaic Slavic lexical stock conserved in Polish toponymy, I decided to single out just one item to discuss it in a broader perspective. Among the author's examples of reliable Germanic borrowings we find a topographical term reconstructed as *\*pergynja* (Pronk-Tiethoff 2013: 158f.) and classified among examples whose original accentual paradigm was judged impossible to determine. In the following I intend to demonstrate that, contrary to this claim, a univocal and reliable reconstruction of main aspects of the original prosody of this term can be successfully attempted on the basis of prosodic and vocalic properties of related North Slavic<sup>4</sup> place names alone.

## 2. Lexical reflexes of *\*pergyni*

The oldest attestation of the word comes from the *Codex Suprasliensis*, a Cyrillic monument originated probably somewhere in northeastern Bulgaria in the middle 11<sup>th</sup> cent. It was used in the text once, in the form of the locative plural, in the passage "есть же въ прѣгыньхъ мѣсто то и въ непроходъныхъ горахъ". The major Old Church Slavic dictionary to date translates it with Greek ἄγριον<sup>5</sup> (sc. ὄρος: ἐν ἀγρίοις καὶ ἀνυπερβάτοις ὄρεσιν) and explains as 'divoká horská krajina; wildes Berggelände; дикий горный край; loca aspera' (SJS 3: 416, s.v. *прѣгыни* vel *прѣгынья*). Other attestations of Old or Middle Bulgarian forms come from Church Slavic texts of Russian redaction (SRJaXI–XVII 18: 168, s.v. *прегиня* [*прѣгыня*]; the dictionary gives the gloss 'труднопроходимое место'), cf. "ты тогда проведе чресъ тя, горы и прѣгыня, холми и (...) равнины и поля, дубравы и потоци, ломи и дрязгы, море и рѣкы" (a 1522 copy of a 12<sup>th</sup> cent. text). Miklosich (LP: 721f., s.v. *прегинья*) was able to find one more reflex of this word: the nom. pl. *прегинѣ* in a 13<sup>th</sup> cent.

- 3 This view, implying that generic names of animals as well as some words for males, sometimes even for those exhibiting pronounced masculine features (e.g. *\*bykъ*, *\*koňb*) which happened to follow this stress pattern, were once neuters, can hardly be taken seriously (cf. Babik 2012: 366).
- 4 To the best of our knowledge, except for Medieval texts, no trace of this word has been identified in South Slavic, neither in the toponymy (Udolph 1991: 71 and map 1 on p. 72) nor in dialectal lexicons (cf. Grigorjan 1975; Vidoeski 1999), although it certainly existed, at least in eastern part of that area, as late as in the Late Medieval period. BER does not even offer an entry presenting the Middle Bulgarian material.
- 5 The Greek original of this literary work was identified by Durnovo (1926: 106f.).

Old Serbian translation of a homily (“запустѣвшею прегиню и горы и връшы аньгельскаго гласа испльнѣша”). As the word is generally used in them next to *gora* in similar contexts, we are probably dealing with a fixed literary formula, so these attestations can hardly be treated as independent from the *Codex Suprasliensis* usage and translated in a diverging way.

An adjective in *-ьнѣ* is known only in the Church Slavic form (with the metathesis of liquids). It occurs in a 15<sup>th</sup> cent. Menaion of Russian redaction (cf. SRJaXI–XVII 18: 168, s.v. *прегинный* [*прегыньный*]): “горахъ бо прилежахъ высокыхъ и мѣстахъ прегыньныхъ” and “Тоя пустыня прегыньное и непроходное въскорѣ проиде” (the same text, two pages later; substantivated use).

Even more intriguing are two known written attestations of the East Slavic variant, as they occur in essentially different contexts (LP: 721f.; SRJaXI–XVII 14: 226, s.v. *перегия* ~ *перегыня*, with the gloss ‘труднопроходимое, малодоступное место’). The older of them is found in a 13<sup>th</sup>–14<sup>th</sup> cent. copy of a 11<sup>th</sup> cent. text (“самъ же [Юлианъ] шествоваше по перегынь лютѣи водимъ персяниномъ”). Here, in spite of the context suggesting rather ‘no man’s land, uninhabited wild area’ (the determiner *ljutъ* appears to mean ‘wild’ here), the Greek original has the word *δυσβάτος* ‘hard to reach’ (‘διὰ γῆς (...) δυσβάτου’). Leskien (1907: 198) has pointed out that in an Old Serbian version of this text in place of *po peregyně ljutěi* the phrase *skrozě zemlju* (...) *zlochodnu nogama* occurs.

The other is particularly interesting, as the locative *peregyni* constitutes an extension of the original Greek phrase ([*рекъ сущиимъ*] въ *перегыни* *Острыя горы нищиимъ* ‘τοῖς ἐν τῷ ὄρει τῆς Ὀξίας πτωχοῖς’). In this case the meaning must have been ‘foothill’ or ‘slope’ (cf. also Leskien 1907: 199).

It has been suggested that our word was used also in the Church Slavic translation of the *Story of Akir the Wise*, the original of which has been lost (cf. Durnovo 1926: 106f.). In some extant copies a bulk of distorted forms occurs, which Durnovo summarized as follows: ‘брегынего’ (Sol.)<sup>6</sup>, ‘прегнее’ (O.), ‘прегни емъ’ (Ch.), ‘прѣведи’ (F.) and ‘приведи’ (S.), in other it was simply omitted. On the basis of these attestations Durnovo tried to reconstruct the original form as \**prĕgyni*. Having consulted Russian translations of parallel Aramaic and Armenian texts of the story, he established the meaning of this hypothetical word as ‘wooded hill/mountain’ (Durnovo 1926: 108).

6 These abbreviations were introduced by the author himself. For details I refer to the original text of Durnovo (1926).

Pronk-Tiethoff (2013: 158) translates the Old and Middle Bulgarian (“OCS”) words as ‘impenetrable covert (?)’ and the Old Russian ones as ‘thicket, covert’, which in the light of the above survey can hardly be regarded as the optimal choice.

An alleged Polish *przeginia* mentioned sometimes in the onomastic literature (Lubaś 1968: 122: ‘rozpadlina; nierówna niedostępna powierzchnia, wąwóz, parów’; Rymut 1996: 138, s.v. *Pluskawka* ‘Kluft, Klamm, unebenes, unzugängliches Gebiet, Tal’) must be qualified as a kind of “ghost word”, i.e. reconstruction without an asterisk repeated after Kryński (1909: 229f.), who first adopted this practice. Probably the same is to be said about ‘river bend, ohbí řeky’ in Witkowski (1973: 643) and Hosák, Šrámek (1980: 317).

### 3. Original inflection

As noted above, the scanty lexical reflexes of the word known to us are attested only in the forms of oblique cases or other ambiguous case forms, which do not allow for a motivated reconstruction of the original inflectional class (*\*pergynia* or *\*pergyni*?). To elucidate this question, it appears necessary to look for possibly archaic attestations of nominative forms of those related place names which are believed to be originally identical with the appellative.

The chronologically oldest attestation of the nominative is probably an Old Polish river name <(super) Pregini><sup>7</sup>, found in a Latin document issued or copied between 1136 and 1146.<sup>8</sup> This is the so-called Bull of Gniezno, generally considered

- 7 Today probably Rudno, left tributary of the upper Vistula, on which the villages Rudno and Przeginia are located (see Rymut 2001: 126, s.v. *Rudno*). The identification, apart from the fact that the name *Przeginia* is unambiguously attested for precisely the same brook in the late 18<sup>th</sup> cent. (Rymut 2001: 126), is based on textual context (<et super Pregini Rudnici>); it has been assumed that <Rudnici> and *Rudno* refer to the same settlement. Contrary to recent works on the subject (cf. Wójcik 2013: 143), I believe that <Rudnici> was merely the 12<sup>th</sup> cent. name of the inhabitants of Rudno (the latter being a topographical name), so that it should not be treated as a service-related place name (Polish *nazwa służebna*, < *\*Rudbnici*), but rather as a *nomen originis* (< *\*Rudbniti*). Cf. the relationship between *Poddebice* (until 1393) and *Poddebice* (since 1398), attested as names of the same locality (NMPol 9: 22, s.v. *Poddebice* (1)).
- 8 Historians disagree about the question of authenticity of the Bull. Specialists have opined that the extant parchment could not be issued by the papal chancery; nevertheless, it must have been written in the middle 12<sup>th</sup> cent. Maleczyński (1947: 170f.) argued that this is in fact a spurious document forged in Poland between 1139 and 1146,

as the linguistic monument marking the beginning of the written history of Polish (cf. the most recent critical edition provided with a Polish translation in Wydra, Rzepka 1984: 17f.).<sup>9</sup> The Bull contains about 410 Old Polish anthroponyms and geographical names, spelled without major distortions according to a specific orthographical system derived from that of contemporary Latin. Now, it can be formally shown that regardless of syntactic context none of these names is given in an Old Polish case form other than the nominative. Some exceptions to the general rule that names are adduced in their nominative form are Latinized names of the most important localities, regions and rivers, which are sometimes inflected according to the Latin grammar.<sup>10</sup> It is obvious that *«Pregini»* cannot represent a Latin accusative or ablative singular form. The other nine river names occurring in the Bull are all given in the nominative: *«usque ad fluuium plituiza»*<sup>11</sup> (*Bull*: 18, lines 28–29), *«super fluvium Vna»*<sup>12</sup> (*Bull*: 19, line 119), *«super aquam Oloboc»*<sup>13</sup> (*Bull*: 19, lines 125–126), *«super fluuium tena»* (*Bull*: 20, line 138)<sup>14</sup>, *«Item de miliche castello [...], plenarie decinationes per totum ex hac parte Bariche»*<sup>15</sup>

but based on an authentic papal bull. Others (cf. Łowmiański 1985: 337f.) defend the authenticity of the Bull, considering it a local true copy of a lost bull originated in Vatican in 1136.

- 9 Nowadays the Bull should not be approached without consulting monographic articles by Bańkowski (1985, 1986) devoted to the onomastic material it contains.
- 10 *«usque in uislam»* (*Bull*: 20, line 150), *«in castello lancicie»* (*Bull*: 20, line 160), *«aput ciuitatem Cracovie»* (*Bull*: 20, line 176), *«circa Cracoviam»* (*Bull*: 20, lines 178–179), *«ville archiepiscopales per Cuiauiam»* (*Bull*: 20, line 185). The forms of some names seem corrupted (*«Lestniz»* (*Bull*: 19, line 88) for *\*«Lestniza»* 'Lestnica', *«Lunciz»* (*Bull*: 20, line 143) for *\*«Lunciza»* 'Łęczyca') and may represent a different scribal tradition. The Latinized *«Dambnicia»* (*Bull*: 19, line 114) *«Dębnica»* is nevertheless given in the nominative.
- 11 *Plytwica*, today *Plitwica*, right tributary of the Brda (cf. Babik 2004: 31f.).
- 12 Today *Unia*, a village on a right tributary of the Warta (cf. Babik 2001: 595).
- 13 Today *Ołobok*, left tributary of the Prosna (cf. Babik 2001: 202f.).
- 14 Today *Cienia*, right tributary of the Prosna (cf. Babik 2001: 361f.).
- 15 Today *Barycz*, right tributary of the Oder. It has been observed (cf. Bańkowski 1986: 443) that in the Bull the reconstructed *č* is consistently spelled as *«che»* both anteconsonantically and word-finally (cf. also *«Louiche»*, later on *Łowicz*, *«Conecheno»* 'Konieczno', *«Coberichesco»* 'Kobierzyczsko', *«Uilchecov»* 'Wilczków', *«Clobuchec»* 'Kłobucz(e)k', *«solche»* 'Solcz' (?), *«Silche»* 'Żyłcz(e)' (?; the eponym is mentioned as *«Silca»* 'Żyłka' (?), name of an inhabitant of the same village)). This observation permits us to read *«miliche»* and *«Bariche»* as *Milicz* and *Barycz*. *«Pretche»* (today *Przedecz*), represents probably a neuter short (indetermined) adjective *\*Předče*.

(*Bull*: 20, lines 139–141), <iuxta flu(u)ium Pelza><sup>16</sup> (*Bull*: 20, lines 150–151), <Item Nir in totum inter tvr et cholm cum castoribus [...]><sup>17</sup> (*Bull*: 20, lines 156–157), <circa fluuium Ganzaua><sup>18</sup> (*Bull*: 21, lines 232–233). Also <quam super Zuandri aquam appellauerunt> (today *Swędrnia*, right tributary of the Prosna), in view of later unambiguous traces of the *\*-y* *\*-zve* inflection,<sup>19</sup> must be considered as an *\*-ū*-stem nominative in *-y*. It follows that <Pregini> must be read *Pręgyŋi* and be regarded as an *\*-ī*-stem nominative. This observation has already been made by Polish linguists (cf. especially Bańkowski 1982: 77), but without carrying out a detailed analysis of the relevant material. According to Bańkowski (1982: 77), the ending *-i*, which is still alive in the suffix of Polish feminatives (e.g. *bogini* ‘goddess’), in place names in *\*-yni* (mostly derivatives of adjectives like *\*Lutyŋi* > *Lutynia*) was completely eliminated by the beginning of the 13<sup>th</sup> cent. Kryński’s (1909) contention that 13<sup>th</sup> and 14<sup>th</sup> cent. attestations of place names ending in <*-a*> exclude their original *\*-ī*-inflection is simply wrong, being based on insufficient knowledge of both onomastic facts<sup>20</sup> and general tendencies governing the morphological development of place names.<sup>21</sup> For example, the most reliable toponymic derivatives in *\*-yŋi* generally show up with the nominative ending <*-a*> in all attestations known to us.<sup>22</sup>

- 16 *Pi(e)lca*, today *Pilica*, left tributary of the Vistula (cf. Babik 2001: 221f.). The Old Polish form *Pilca* allows basically two competing reconstructions of the protoform, namely *\*Polīa* (= *\*Plīa*) and *\*Pilbca*. In 2001, drawing on the diminutive *Pilczyca* and the adjective (> person name) *Pilecki* (which, however, can both easily be analogical), I opted for the latter possibility. Nevertheless, today I would not exclude that the *Bull* documents an otherwise unknown Early Northeastern Polish variant *PElca* (where *E* = an *e*-like vowel), going back to *\*Plīa*, subsequently ousted by the southern variant as used in (southern part of) the *Pilica* drainage itself. By now, the dialectal area with evidenced traces of a vocalization *\*f* > *El* has largely regressed to the north (cf. Dejna 1981, map 4).
- 17 *Nyr*, today *Ner*, right tributary of the Warta (cf. Babik 2001: 474f.).
- 18 *Gqsawa*, today *Gqsawka*, left tributary of the Noteć. In view of numerous parallels in Polish toponymy (*Gqsawy*, *Gesawy* etc.) the name must be regarded as a Slavic relic of not quite clear origin, contrary to my earlier interpretation (cf. Babik 2001: 122f.).
- 19 I am talking here about medieval attestations pointing to *Świedrēw* (Babik 2001: 265f.).
- 20 In the first decade of the 20<sup>th</sup> cent. relatively little was known about historical attestations of Polish place names, as most of the sources known to date remained unedited.
- 21 As indicated by Bańkowski (1982), the frequent use of local case forms of place names (in Polish mainly those of the genitive and the locative) prompts and accelerates the morphological evolution of their nominative forms with respect to those of the underlying appellatives.

Another possible instance of the old nominative in *-i* could be the attestation <de Przeginy> (cf. below) dating from 1392. After Latin *de* Old Polish forms of the genitive are often used, but in this case a genitive in *-i* is not expected any more.<sup>23</sup> The value of this argument is diminished also by the fact that for the name in question an older (recorded between 1346 and 1358) attestation in <-a> is known.

Possible traces of this nominative can be indicated in East Slavic, too. Vasil'ev (2012: 461) pointed to the attestation <Перегини (...?) на рѣкѣ на Ловоти> [1539], which can be tentatively identified with present-day Peregino on the Lovat' river (cf. below). Here again, the attestation is predated by a form in <-o> by about 40 years.

Finally, one more argument for the original *\*-i*-inflection was envisaged by Durnovo (1926: 107f.). He interpreted the distorted forms *пръведу* and *приведу* as faithfully preserving the ending of the nominative, in other copies replaced by that of the instrumental under the influence of a following instrumental form. It goes without saying that such an argument must remain highly conjectural.

#### 4. Place of stress

It has long been known that derivatives of *\*pergyŋi* occur in the toponymy of areas where East Slavic dialects with free stress have been spoken. However, this common knowledge has not resulted in an attempt to analyze the prosody of these place names to reconstruct the Proto-Slavic point of departure. One of the reasons was undoubtedly the fact that their accentual properties have remained hidden to the researchers, as principal onomastic sources they stemmed from unfortunately did not indicate their place of stress.

- 22 Cf. the NMPol lemmas *Lutynia* (6: 247, s.v. *Lutynia* (1)): <Luthina> [1398], *Przyprostynia* (9: 357, s.v.): <Przeprostynia> [1338], also *Kopernia* (< *Koporynia*) (5: 127, s.v.; cf. also Nalepa 1973: 97f.: <Coporina> [1257]), *Droginia* (2: 425, s.v.: <Drogin> [1234], but <Droginia> pro *\*Droginia* [1239, a later copy]), *Tłokinia* (since 1282). Other names listed by Bańkowski (1982) as supposedly containing a suffix *-yni* probably or surely lacked it; this is the case of an alleged *\*Drwynia* > *Drwinia*, which in fact comes from *Drwienia*. Other unreliable examples are *Przybinia*, *Lubochnia* (cf. the documentation presented in NMPol 6: 210, s.v. *Lubochnia* (1)), *Lgiń* (cf. NMPol 6: 95, s.v.), and above all *Bochnia*, repeating in this form several times in the microtoponymy of southern Poland.
- 23 The old stems in *\*-iā-* and *\*-i-* both had the genitive sg. ending *-e* < *\*-ē* in the 14<sup>th</sup> cent., cf. Klemensiewicz et al. (1964: 288): *-i* was only sporadic before the 16<sup>th</sup> cent. It should also be noted that precisely in southern part of Lesser Poland the genitive ending *-e* has been retained dialectally up to our times (cf. Dejna 1981, map 83).



The “knot”<sup>24</sup> of present-day *Перегинське*<sup>25</sup> is documented since 1469 (⟨*Perehinka*⟩; the form in -sko/-ske is attested since the 16<sup>th</sup> century (⟨*Perhinsko*⟩ [1504], ⟨*Perchinsko*⟩<sup>26</sup> [1578], ⟨*Perehińsko*⟩ [16<sup>th</sup> cent.], ⟨*Perehińsko*⟩ [1661–1665], ⟨*Perehynsko*⟩ [1691], ⟨*z Perechińska*⟩ [1734], ⟨*Перегинсько*⟩ [1882], ⟨*Perehińsko*⟩ [1886], cf. the respective entries in Czapla (2011: 146) and Lučyk (2014: 372). Jacij (2015: 235) quotes also the attestations ⟨*Перегинськ*⟩ [1301, most probably standardized], ⟨*do Perehinska*⟩ [1609], ⟨*do monastera Pereinska*⟩ [1642–1692], ⟨*do monastera Pereinskiego*⟩ [1647–1687], ⟨*in decanatu Perehinscensi*⟩ [1758–1765], ⟨*Perehińsko*⟩ [1785–1788, 1819–1820]. There is no doubt that the name had an etymological \*y in the medial syllable. The view that the name is related to \*pergonъ, Ukrainian *nepeziń*<sup>27</sup>, expressed first by Kryński (1909: 228, fn. 1), recently endorsed surprisingly by both Czapla (2011: 146) and Lučyk (2014: 372; recently also Jacij 2015: 235), cannot be reconciled with the written history of the name; reflexes of the etymological vowel \*o in closed syllables are never spelled as ⟨i⟩, ⟨y⟩ before the 17<sup>th</sup> cent.; even the *Šematyzm* of 1882, which otherwise marks i < \*ě as ⟨ѣ⟩ and i < \*o as ⟨ѵ⟩, in this case uses the letter ⟨и⟩. Probably *Перегинське* was artificially and consciously transformed into *Перегинське* to render it “more Ukrainian” (i.e., quasi-motivated by *перегін -і́на*).

*Перегино* in the Staraya Russa district, apart from the above-mentioned (and a little bit hypothetical) attestation from 1539, is documented since the 15<sup>th</sup> cent. (cf. Vasil’ev 2012: 461: ⟨*Перегино*⟩ [1498], [1624]; RGN 6: 641). The passage into another inflectional paradigm was probably triggered by a substitution of the new ending -e of the locative for older \*-i. Starting from the locative, the inflection has been assimilated to that of the productive “possessive” structures in -ino.

A third toponymic reflex of \*pergyŋi in the East Slavic area is *Перегинський*, quoted by Petrov (1929: 22; cf. Udolph 1991: 71) without an accent mark (thus probably

24 I am using the word “knot” (Polish *węzeł*) as a counterpart of *gniazdo* (‘nest’) I have been using to denote a set of names related linguistically to each other which developed from a single underlying toponym. These names are as a rule referred to geographically adjacent topographical or cultural objects (e.g. a river and its tributary, a river and a settlement on its bank etc.).

25 In Pronk-Tiethoff (2013: 158) adduced erroneously as *Perehynsko*.

26 Possibly, for \*⟨*Perehinsko*⟩.

27 This word seems to be the real etymon of *Перегінець* (Russian *Перехинец*, Polish *Perehińczyk*, name of a brook in the Dniester drainage, cf. WRG 3: 611; SHU: 415), as suggested above all by the variant *Перезонець* pointing to an original alternation *Перезонець* (gen. *Перезинця*), cf. Udolph (1991: 77, fn. 47), contra e.g. Vasil’ev (2012: 461). The same applies to *Перегінка* in the Seret drainage (SHU: 415).

taken from a cartographic source). The name referred to a stream in the Zakarpattia region of the Ukraine (vicinity of Rička).

While the place of stress of *Пере́гинський* and that of another *Пере́гину* (Cholm district, cf. RGN 6: 641) remains unknown to me, the stress placement within the two former names has recently been made known: in both cases, the stress falls on the second syllable of the pleophonic sequence (Vasil'ev 2012: 461: *Пере́гину*; Lučyk 2014: 372; Jacij 2015: 235: *Пере́гинське*<sup>28</sup>). Thus, there is full agreement between them, pointing to an acute-like tone, i.e. old or new acute, on the first syllable of *\*pergyŋi* (see below).

This recognition is not seriously contradicted by the place of stress of dialectal Ukrainian *перегéня* ~ *перогéня*, a debated word denoting 'a girl who uses to scare her friends for joke', 'обмотана червоними поясами дівчина, що йде попереду полільників у панський двір, скінчивши полоти буряки' (cf. ESUM 4: 340, s.v.), usually connected with the Old Russian mythological term *берегыня*. Great semantic difference makes a direct connection between them and our topographical term improbable. According to Anikin RES (3: 111f., with further references I do not repeat here), this *\*Pergyŋi* was borrowed from Old Germanic theonym *\*Fergun-* reconstructed on the basis of Old Norse *Fjörgyn* 'Thor's mother' or 'Mother Earth'.<sup>29</sup> It cannot be excluded that we are facing here a case of different prosodic adaptation of the same segmental structure, due to chronological and/or dialectal differences accompanying the act of borrowing. Moreover, I personally would not exclude that the original form of this word did begin with *b-* and was distorted only secondarily under the influence of the topographical term (the supposed change *\*y > e* remains mysterious; taboo?).

## 5. The problem of *Prignitz* ~ *Pr(i)egnitz*

In German onomastics, it has become the standard view that the place names *Prignitz* ~ *Pregnitz* ~ *Priegnitz*, occurring in northeastern part of present-day Germany

- 28 But in Janko (1998: 268; quoted by Lučyk 2014: 372) *Пере́гинське*. Cases of accentual discrepancy between this source and headwords of the dictionary by Lučyk are more numerous, however. From the accentological viewpoint, *Пере́гинське* is undoubtedly a *forma difficilior*, as it differs from *перегін* by its place of stress.
- 29 Contrary to Anikin and his sources ("назв. 'дубового или лесного божества'"), this Germanic word must be connected above all with the meaning 'thunder' as seen e.g. in Lith. *perkúnas* or derived directly from the plural *fjörg* 'gods'.

populated by Slavs in Early Medieval times, go back to a prototype \**Pergyŋica*<sup>30</sup> (cf. Schlimpert 1972: 450; Witkowski 1973: 643; Udolph 1991: 71, with further references). The most known example is the contemporary name of a district bordering the lower Elbe, documented since 1349 (‹in der Prygnitz›, cf. Wauer 1989: 45). The lake name *Priegnitzsee* (Biesenthal) is relatively lately documented (‹an der Pregnitz› [1755], cf. Schlimpert 1984: 342). In the village Kloddram (Mecklenburg) a microtoponym *Prignitz* is/was known (Wauer 1989: 46). Near Zerbst a brook flows called *Prignitz* (Graf 1957: 46f.). The name of a street in Stralsund *Priegnitz* (Udolph 1991: 71) was recorded in the beginning of the 15<sup>th</sup> cent. as ‹de prighhen-itze›. A particularly interesting, but dubious case is *Perguhn*, a hydronym near Schweskau in the Hannover Wendland (Kühnel 1982: 60), cf. below. Similar names were known more to the south, in the Ore Mountains in Bohemia, in an early Germanicized area (*Priegnitz*, ‹Prignitz› [1378], an extinct name of a valley, a brook and a settlement near Cheb, cf. Schwarz 1961: 291, with a diverging interpretation, i.e. < \**Prigonica* ). Another possible example is ‹Pregnitzberg› [1202], to be sought somewhere on the middle Danube (Stur 1914: 74).

Quite recently it turned out that three similar names were known also in the microtoponymy of Western Pomerania east to the Oder (Rzetelska-Feleszko, Duma 2013: 41, s.v. *Pragnica* [sic!], 42, s.v. \**Pregnic*, \**Pregnic* (*Wiesen*)). The name *Priegnitz* (and *Priebnitz*) was attested in 1823 for an unidentified object near Wierzchowo and Świerczyna, whereas *Priegnitz Wiesen* was found on a 1834 map as name of meadows on the Ina river near Lubowo. *Pregnitz* was the name of an unspecified object near Batyń (Białogard district), found in a toponomastic collection compiled between 1930 and 1938. The authors of the quoted monograph, apparently unaware of the state of art, suggested a connection with the verb \**per-gniti*, which must be qualified as fairly odd – both not credible and unnecessary (nominal derivatives of this word family have normally -*gnoj*-, cf. reflexes of \**pergnojь* in various Slavic dialects).

An implication of the etymology linking *Prignitz* etc. to \**pergyŋi* is the necessity to assume a complete loss of the second syllable vowel, which might be due to its unaccentedness. It has been suggested that the varying stress placement in the substratum toponymy of eastern Germany partly reflects the free character of Early Polabian stress, the name of Berlin being the most prominent example of this kind (cf. Mańczak 1973). No systematic evaluation of the relevant material has taken place, however; for example, it is striking that most toponyms in -*itz* bear

30 Old Polabian \**Pręgynica* (with \**ē*!), e.g. in Udolph (1991: 69), is likely a slip of the pen.

the stress on the preceding (radical) syllable, although it is known that the major part of these derivatives stressed the suffixal *-i-* in Proto-Slavic. I am of the opinion that these place names cannot currently be used for accentological reconstruction, although their properties are by no means inconsistent with the assumption that the prototypes stressed their first syllable.

Moreover, the very protoform *\*Pergynica* is open to doubt. The structure *PrEg-nitz* can be fully justified starting from an alternative prototype *\*Perg̃nica*, which can be explained in at least two different ways. Firstly, it cannot be excluded that an older, original form of the borrowed word *\*pergVn-*, namely *\*perg̃n-*, is reflected in these names (cf. below). Note that they are all located in the northwestern periphery of the Slavic world.

Secondly, it must not be rejected off-hand that this hypothetical *\*perg̃n-* contains a (neo)root *\*g̃n-* (probably < *\*g̃b-n-*) recoverable from some Slavic place names lacking immediate background in the attested lexical stock. In Polish toponymy, there are traces of certain derivatives in *\*-g̃n-* with various prefixes: *\*zag̃n-* (*Zagnia*, name of a valley in the village Pawłowice in Greater Poland, cf. Kozierowski 1916: 438; further *Zagno* > *Żagno*, oikonym in the Dobrzyń province (Lipno district),<sup>31</sup> *Żagno -a*, name of a meadow in the village Kowalki in the Rypin district (UN 183: 12) and *Zagno*, name given to a place on the river Kamienna near the village Zemborzyn in northern Lesser Poland, cf. LuSandXVIII 2: 18), *\*vy-g̃n-* (*Wygno -a*, a forest in the village Rychłowiec in the Pajęczno district according to UNMasz 45: 31, and probably also *Wiginiec* < *\*Wygieniec*, name of a forest in the village Wymysłów in the Włoszczowa district, cf. UN 35: 35). The most interesting case is *Ogne*, an 18<sup>th</sup>-cent. name of a field in the village Łany Małe in Lesser Poland ([1789] LuKrakXVIII 1: 312), which must be interpreted as vestige of an otherwise unknown compound adjective *\*o(b)g̃(b)noje*. Nevertheless, I have to admit that, to the best of my knowledge, no trace of a genuine *\*Przeg̃n-*, *\*Przeg̃nica* can currently be identified in Polish toponymy.

The aforementioned hydronym *Perguhn* has most probably been stressed on the second syllable. However, it is not a serious argument for such a stress placement in *\*Pergyn-*, since its etymology is far from obvious. As historical documentation is lacking, and German adaptations of Slavic vowels are very imperfect, it cannot

31 Between 1895 and 1972 noted as *Zagno* in some sources using Standard Polish, but dialectal *żagno*. The initial *Ż-*, attested first by Kozierowski (1928: 293) is probably hypercorrect and more recent: about 15 km further to the east begins a great area of regular change *ż* > *z*.

be excluded that the real protoform of this name was in fact \**Pergon* > Old Polabian \**Prëgon*. The word \**pergôn* was stressed on the medial syllable; if this place of stress was reproduced in the German transposition, the pretonic syllable may have been reduced (\**Preg-* > \**Prg-*), and the ephemeral sonant may have been re-vocalized as *er*. Such a development would be reminiscent of that supposed for *Perdöhl* (Hagenow district), *Perdöl* (Plön district, cf. Mańczak 1973: 17) < \**Prédol-* < \**Perdol-* (or \**Pridol-*?), where a Germanicization event predating the metathesis of liquids appears not credible.

## 6. Quantity and tone

The often mentioned Polish “*Przeginia* (place-name, Małopolska province)” (so Pronk-Tiethoff 2013: 158) is in fact three different place names, attested since the Late Medieval period. Chronologically the oldest, apart from <Pregini> discussed above, is the “knot” located near Olkusz; as early as 1228 a <castrum edificatur in Pregina> edified by the duke Henry the Bearded is mentioned in a chronicle. The nearby settlement is documented since 1225 (<Preghinam> [1225, copy 1291], <Preginam> [1228, later copy], <Pregina> [1325–7], <Pregina> [1337], <Przegina> [1356], <Przegina> [1422], <Przeginya> [1470–80], <Przegina> [sic!] [1490], <Przeginya> [1529], later on only *Przeginia*, cf. NMPol 9: 297, s.v. *Przeginia* (1)). As some historians identify the mentioned castle (or rather hillfort) with the remnants found on the present-day Kocica hill<sup>32</sup>, situated to the east of present-day Sułoszowa, next to the famous castle of Pieskowa Skała, it can be tentatively supposed that the name originally referred to the (upper part of?) Prądnik valley, one of the main landscape attractions in the vicinity of Cracow, from which it was later transferred to the Medieval settlement situated about 5 km to the west.

The supposed old name of the brook Rudno was transferred to two adjacent villages, contemporary *Przeginia Duchowna* and *Przeginia Narodowa* (cf. Rymut 1967: 136; NMPol 9: 298, s.v.v.). The older of these villages was located probably in 1276 (<damus (...) locandi villam (...) in Pregina (...) in monte Kamona Gora>). Later attestations are <Preginia> [1319], <Przegina> [1345], <Pregina> [1346/58], <Przegyna> [1363] and [1450], <Przeginya> [1470–80], <Przegyna> [1490], <Przeginya> [1529], <Przeginia> and <Przeginya> [1564], later on only *Przeginia* (D. or N.).

32 Cf. the webpage [przeglad.olkuski.pl/index.php/artykuly/kultura/historia-i-tradycja-regio-nu/szkice-o-ziemi-olkuskiej/12369-dzieje-suloszowy-do-rozborow-szkic-na-700-lecie](http://przeglad.olkuski.pl/index.php/artykuly/kultura/historia-i-tradycja-regio-nu/szkice-o-ziemi-olkuskiej/12369-dzieje-suloszowy-do-rozborow-szkic-na-700-lecie).

The third Przeginia is currently a part of the village Zbydniów in the Bochnia district (Lubaś 1968: 122 s.v.; NMPol 9: 297, s.v. *Przeginia* (2)), but formerly was a separate village (‹Pregina› [1346/58], ‹de Przeginy› [sic!] [1392], ‹Przeginia› [1564], [1581], ‹w Przegini› [1629], later on only *Przeginia*). The name was evidently transferred from a brook mentioned in the 1531 record ‹agri circa fluuiolum Przegynya›<sup>33</sup>, today called Pluskawka (cf. Rymut 1996: 138, s.v. *Pluskawka*).

At the same time, all the three *Przeginia* just mentioned are living place names, which means that apart from speakers of Standard Polish they have been used by speakers of local folk dialects that happen to make a clear distinction between the former long and short *e*. While the latter is retained as “plain” *e*, the former has changed to *é*, *ý* or has coalesced with *y* (cf. Dejna 1981, map 54). The dialectal form of these place names is known: it is *pšęgińa* in all the three cases (Rymut 1967: 136; NMPol 9: 298, s.v. *Przeginia Narodowa*; UNMasz 2: 108), thus pointing to an Old Polish short *e* in the first syllable.

It is important to note that not a single attestation of these names known to us<sup>34</sup> shows a spelling of the first syllable involving the letters ‹y› or ‹i›. In case of etymological prefix \**Per-* > *Prze-* the spelling of this vowel changes as a rule after the 15<sup>th</sup> cent.: ‹*Prze-*› is replaced by ‹*Przy-*› or ‹*Przi-*›, especially in those dialectal areas where *y* is nowadays the normal reflex of \**ĕ*. The phenomenon is documented by dozens of examples attested with ‹*e*› before the 16<sup>th</sup> cent. (cf. NMPol 9: 329f.<sup>35</sup>).

- 33 The mysterious “agri circa fluuiolum *Przygynya* (1531) Matr IV/1, nr 160” (NMPol 9: 297, s.v. *Przeginia* (2)) rests evidently on a mistake repeated after Lubaś (1968: 122; perpetrated also by Babik 2001: 510), to which the author of the NMPol entry added the erroneous ‹y› in the first syllable of the name. The correct quotation would be “agri circa fluuiolum *Przegynya* (1531) Matr IV/2, nr 16087”.
- 34 It is to be hoped that a forthcoming volume of SHGKr will bring us further attestations of these toponyms. To the examples listed above a set of attestations of the heraldic name *Przeginia* collected by Kryński (1909: 221f.) should be added (cf. also SSNO 4: 366, s.v. *Przeginia*).
- 35 S.v.v. *Przybojewo* (2), *Przyborowice* (2) and (3), *Przyborowo* (1) and (4), *Przyborów* (1) and (6), *Przybroda* (1) and (2), *Przybrodzin*, *Przychody* (2) and (3), *Przychód* (1), *Przyczyna Górna*, *Przydonica*, *Przydworzyce*, *Przyglów*, *Przygodzice*, *Przyjma* (2), *Przyjmy* (1) and (2), *Przykop* (2), *Przykopka*, *Przykory* (1), (2) and (4), *Przykwa*, *Przylot*, *Przyłęczek*, *Przyłęk* (1), (2), (3), (6), (7), (8) and (8a), *Przyłęki* (1), *Przyłom*, *Przyłubie* (1), *Przyłubsko*, *Przyłuski* (1), *Przymiłowice*, *Przymiłów*, *Przyprostynia*, *Przyranie*, *Przyrowa* (1) and (2), *Przyrownica*, *Przyrowno*, *Przyrów*, *Przysieczki*, *Przysiek* (1), *Przysieka* (3), (4), (5), (6) and (7), *Przysieki* (1), *Przysiersk*, *Przysietnica* (1) and (2), *Przysowy*, *Przyspa*, *Przystajń*,

Of course, contrary to Bańkowski (1982: 77) and Udolph (1991: 73) who followed him, short quantity of *e* is not a decisive argument against a prefix \**per-*, provided that in an unmotivated name the etymological length of prefixal vocalism, if liquidated phonetically in a given prosodic environment, was not obligatory to be restored.

There was a fourth, today extinct village called *Przeginia* in Medieval Lesser Poland (near Jedlicze, today Krosno district, in the southeastern periphery of the province), known unfortunately only from three attestations dating from the 1<sup>st</sup> half of the 15<sup>th</sup> cent. (1412, 1419 and 1441, see SHGKr 2: 712f., s.v. *Kolanówka*; 3: 560, s.v. *Leśniówka*, sect. 3). As they all stem from unpublished *acta terrestria*, they escaped somehow the attention of onomasticians, regrettably not included in NMPol 9. The village was situated in the vicinity of Kolanówka, Kopytowa, Żeglce and Bobrka (all of them extant), from the 1441 mention seems to result that *Przeginia* bordered Kopytowa directly from the east.<sup>36</sup> The exact forms of the name as occurring in the manuscripts are for the moment unknown (they will be given in the respective entry of a forthcoming volume of SHGKr), but they appear irrelevant for our purpose of quantitative reconstruction (in the records dating from the 15<sup>th</sup> cent. both \**e* and \**ē* are expected to be spelled as ⟨e⟩).

In 2004, the team of the *Etymological dictionary of Silesian place names* (SNGŚ 11: 31, s.v. *Przeginki*) published the name of an unspecified geographical object, located in/near the village Stara Kuźnia (not far away from the city of Kędzierzyn-Koźle). The attestation *Przeginki* (pl.) comes from the period 1925–1942, gathered probably by a teacher<sup>37</sup> at the local school (the source is indicated as Fl 49/38).<sup>38</sup> The attestation can be viewed as a simplified dialectal record, thus attesting to an older short *e* (attestations from Fl coming from that area reflect as a rule the change *é* > *y*).<sup>39</sup> However, today we find in that area *Przyginkowa Aleja* (a forest road between Stara Kuźnia and Łacza; PRNG), which does not accord with *Przeginki* as the reconstructed vowel quantity is concerned. In my opinion, it should be assumed that the change *e* > *y* in the name is quite recent (perhaps motivated by

*Przystanki, Przysucha, Przyszów, Przytoczna, Przytocznica, Przytoczno, Przytoka* (2), *Przywieczerzyn* (1), *Przywilcz, Przywory* (3), *Przywóz, Przywózki*.

36 "1441 Piotr z K[olanówki]. pozywa Piotra opata i kl[asztor]. koprz[ywnicki]. na termin wiecowy o granice pomiędzy wsiami C[olanówka]. a Zręcinem oraz Żeglcami i Przeginią (dziś nie istn[eje].) a Kopytową i Stanowiskami".

37 The village was part of Germany before 1945. The local population spoke mostly the Silesian dialect of Polish.

38 On this collection see remarks by Rospond (SNGŚ 1: XIV and XLIV).

39 On the development of *é* and *e* in Silesia cf. e.g. Bąk (1974: 43f.), Dejna (1981, map 54).

a folk etymology according to *przyginać*) and has nothing to do with old quantity. *Przeginki* are the regular plural form of a diminutive in *-ka* (\**przeginka* ← \**przeginia*), in spite of the SNGŚ suggestion linking it directly to Polish *przeginać*.<sup>40</sup>

In 2014, when perusing unpublished typescripts left by the Komisja Ustalania Nazw Miejscowych, I came across a further reflex of our word, namely *Przeginieć-ńca* (dialectal<sup>41</sup> *Przeginieć-ńca*, i.e. *Pšegīniec*), name of an unidentified forest within the limits of the village Łobodno near Kłobuck (Kłobuck district), written down probably in late sixties of the 20<sup>th</sup> cent. (UNMasz 202: 2). This is the northernmost assured toponymic vestige of \**pergyŋi* in Poland, which fully accords with the other mentioned above as far as the original quantity of *e* is concerned.<sup>42</sup>

Moreover, a related name is known on the territory of Lach dialects in Bohemian Silesia as well. In 1436, the form <(s) Przehunye> [sic!] was recorded for a mill (a place?) near Dolný Benešov (Hosák, Šrámek 1980: 317, s.v. *Přehyně*). The official standardized name of that locality is now *Přehyně* (at least since 1924), dialectal forms are the nom. (*ta*) *Přehyňa*, the acc. (*na*) *Přehyňu*, the instr. (*za*) *Přehyňum*; instead of an adjective the turn *z Přehyňe* is used. Other sources indicate that the name is referred to a pond (HO: 12, sect. 14) and a brook of about 2 km of length, a tributary of the Opava (cf. also Domański 1989: 171). Since the long \*(*r*)ě is reflected as (*ř*)y in that area (cf. Lamprecht 1953: 22f.; Lamprecht 1963: 108f.<sup>43</sup>; Bělič 1972: 294f.), this is a further piece of evidence in favor of a shortening of the first syllable of \**pergyŋi* in West Slavic.

A combination of the accentuation of the pleophonic sequence in the related East Slavic names with the short quantity of the metathetic group in West Slavic leads unavoidably to the conclusion that the only point of departure common for these two groups of phenomena may have been old acute tone on the first syllable of the word (\**pěrgyŋi*).

Such a conclusion is at variance with the expectations made within the framework of Leiden accentology. In its reconstruction, a word of similar structure (a diphthong in the stressed initial syllable, a non-acute short or long vowel in the

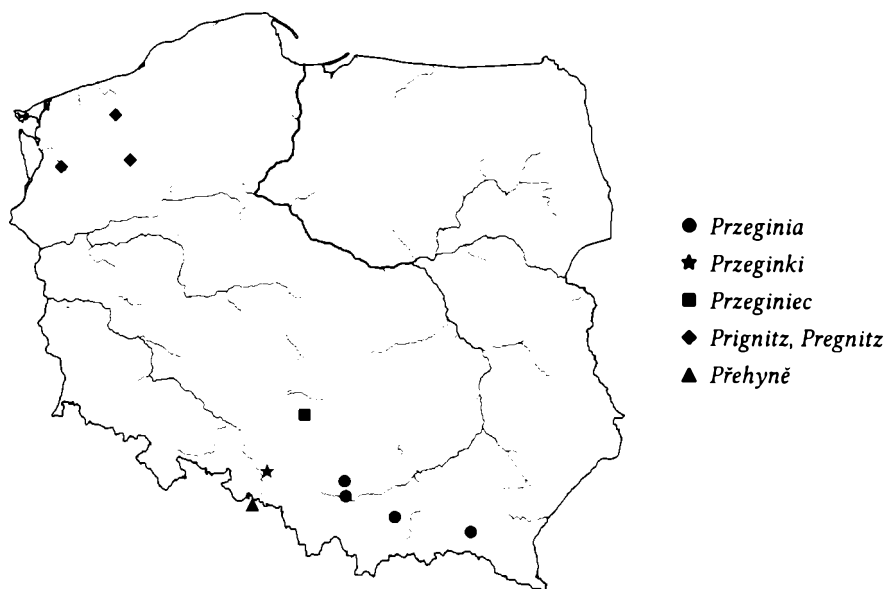
40 Along a similar line of thought, one could question the very possibility of identifying any toponymic reflexes of \**pergyŋi* in any Slavic language having a verb in \**per-gyn-*. Such an approach cannot be accepted.

41 Introduced as "nazwa potoczna (obiegowa)".

42 Cf. from the same source some reflexes of *é* > *i* after palatals in other names from Łobodno: *Jelinio Porąbka* 'Jelenia Porąbka', *Studzinka* 'Studzienka'.

43 I refer to the entries in *pře-* and *přy-* given there, the latter including *přyč'ny*, *přyč'nica*, *přyrubla*, *přysada*, *přyza* ('přiže').





following syllable), should be adopted as barytone with the radical “pre-Dybo tone”. Such a form was bound to undergo Dybo’s law and to stabilize the word stress on the second syllable. If the latter were originally long or morphonologically lengthened before the operation of Stang’s law, it should have lost its stress to the preceding syllable. If the medial syllable were transformed into an acute syllable or lengthening were posterior to Stang’s law, the stress should have remained on the medial syllable. In both cases, however, the initial syllable should have been reflected as long in West Slavic.

All in all, it would be unfair to blame the author of a book issued in 2013 for not having consulted books published in 2012 and 2014 or 2015. However, that Polish and Czech toponymic reflexes of the appellative exhibit short vocalic outcomes in the initial syllable has been known, to competent specialists, for decades.

The quantity of the medial syllable cannot be directly reconstructed, as neither Southern Polish nor Lach dialects make a distinction between the former short and long *\*y* in this environment. Parallelism with other structures (e.g. *\*-ica* or even *\*-yŋi* derivatives) makes us predict a regular phonetic shortening here. The endings, as usual, were particularly sensitive to analogical levelling, but it can be stated that in all cases known to us a shortened (new) ending *-a* (*-e*) of the nominative shows up in toponymic reflexes of *\*pergyŋi* in Polish and Czech.

## 7. *Przeginia* > *Przegędza*?!

According to the unanimous view of contemporary onomasticians, the Silesian place name *Przegędza* (Rybnik district) continues an older form *Przeginia* as attested in 1480 (‹z Przegynie›), cf. Borek (1988: 54), Udolph (1991: 71), Bańkowski (ESJP 2: 841, s.v. *Przeginia*), SNGŚ (11: 31, s.v. *Przegędza*); NMPol (9: 297, s.v. *Przegędza*). This view is based on a certain formal similarity of both names as well as on the fact that the 1480 attestation comes from a Silesian source dealing with Silesian matters. To account for the affricate, Bańkowski (ESJP 2: 841) assumed a diminutive \*-bca extension, although he was clearly mistaken in assuming that this suffix was present as early as 1480 (‹z Przegynce 1480›; such a form is unknown, cf. below). *Przegędza* is further attested in 1531 (‹Przegenda›), 1581 (‹Przegenza›), 1614 (‹ves Přigencze›, ‹ze vsi Przigenze›), 1679 (‹ex villa Przegenza›), 1687/8 (‹Przegancza›), 1743 (‹Brzegandza›) [sic!], 1784 (‹Przegenza›), 1845 (*Przegendza*), 1900 (‹Pszegenza›), later on only *Przegędza* and *Przegendza*; identification of these attestations with present-day *Przegędza* is uncontroversial.

On closer scrutiny, however, this view proves completely false. The attestation ‹z Przegynie› comes from a Czech language document (16<sup>th</sup> cent. copy), whose German summary was published in 1865 (CdSil 6: 108). It was issued on May 27<sup>th</sup>, 1480 at Żędowice (today Rzędowice) in Lesser Poland; the local landlords, brothers Synowiec, confirmed thereby the sale of a property of them located in Upper Silesia to a certain Arnošt Mrakot. At the end of the published summary a list of witnesses is given: “Zur Mitsiegelung haben sie [i.e. brothers Synowiec] erbeten [here follow Bohemized person names in the form of the gen. or acc. sg.:] Stanisława Plazy z Msticzowa, Tomasse z Sandczich mewa krzena z Manoczicz, Mikulasse z Przegynie, Jana z Syczichowycz und Stanisława z Wrbicze”. Nowadays, having at our disposal four volumes of the *Historical and geographical dictionary of the Cracow province in Medieval times* [= SHGKr] edited so far, we can easily demonstrate that all these witnesses were Polish noblemen from western part of Lesser Poland (mostly Cracow province), neighbours of the Synowiec, known from other, independent Polish sources as well:

Stanisław (de) Plaza of Mstyczów (‹Stanisław[a] Plazy z Msticzowa›) was the owner of Przeląja, Mstyczów, Czepiec and Kępie (the latter until 1481), mentioned between 1471 and 1496, died before 1502<sup>44</sup> (SHGKr 1: 460, s.v. *Czepiec*, sect. 3;

44 In 1502 his widow is mentioned (SHGKr 3: 429, s.v. *Lanckorona*). His son, mentioned in 16<sup>th</sup> cent. sources, bore the same name *Stanisław*.

SHGKr 2: 114, s.v. *Grzegorzowice*, sect. 2; SHGKr 2: 309, s.v. *Jeżów*, sect. 3; SHGKr 2: 382, s.v. *Kalina Wielka*; SHGKr 3: 195, s.v. *Krzelow*; SHGKr 4: 85, s.v. *Małyszycze*; SHGKr 4: 119, s.v. *Marcinowice*; SHGKr 4: 312, s.v. *Miechowice*, sect. 6; SSNO 4: 291, s.v. *Plaza*).

Tomasz of Sancygniów vel Sancygniowski (‹Tomasze z Sandcich mewa›)<sup>45</sup> was the owner of Buszków and Błozowice (which he bought in 1463), mentioned between 1453 and 1476 (SHGKr 1: 135, s.v. *Błozowice*; SHGKr 1: 299f., s.v. *Buszków*, sect. 3; SHGKr 4: 285, s.v. *Mianocice*, sect. 3; SSNO 5: 30, s.v. *Sęczygniewski* etc.).

Krystyn vel Krzczon of Mianocice (‹krzen[a] z Manocicz›) was the owner of Mianocice (until 1471, today Miechów district), Wola Cisza and Wola Podleśna, mentioned in the sources between 1462 and 1497 (SHGKr 4: 284f., s.v. *Mianocice*, sect. 3; SSNO 3: 447, s.v. *Mianoc(s)ki*). In 1476, a deal between him and the aforementioned Tomasz Sancygniowski is documentarily attested (ib.).

Jan of Sieciechowice (‹Jan[a] z Syczichowycz›) was probably a priest, the owner of a part of Sieciechowice (today Cracow district) until 1463 and of a part of Brzeście (today extinct, once Sandomierz province) since 1463 (SHGKr 2: 184, s.v. *Iwanowice*, sect. 3).

Stanisław vel Stańczyk Czarnocki of Wierzbica (‹Stanisław[a] z Wrbcze›) was the owner of Wierzbica and Czarnocin (Sandomierz province, today Kazimierza Wielka district), mentioned e.g. in 1483, died before 1489 (SHGKr 1: 437, sect. 3; SHGKr 3: 407, s.v. *Kwaśniów*, sect. 3).

And finally, Mikołaj of Przeginia vel Przeginiński de armis Przeginia (‹Mikulass[e] z Przegynie›) turns out to be the sheriff (Schultheiss, sołtys) of Przeginia (but of which one?) and the owner of Kępie (since 1481), mentioned in other sources between at least 1480 and 1508 (SHGKr 2: 489, s.v. *Kępie*, sect. 3). It thus becomes evident that the locality Przeginia is nothing else than one of the aforementioned villages Przeginia, and must not be sought in Upper Silesia. Accordingly, the name of the Silesian village comes evidently from a person name *Przegędza*,<sup>46</sup> retained precisely in Upper Silesia as contemporary surname (cf. *MoiKrewni* s.v.: the towns of Rybnik and Ruda Śląska, as well as the Tychy district).

45 ‹Sandcich mewa› should be read \*‹Sandcichniewa›. This fragment was evidently misunderstood by the German editors of *CdSil* (6) and, consequently, it was not edited properly.

46 Being an instance of the so-called Ozimek/Jędrysek type – the oikonym, created without any affixal derivation, is just identical with the name of its owner/inhabitant.

## 8. Consequences for a reconstruction of the origin

In view of numerous parallels, adaptation of the diphthong of the Germanic prototype as Slavic (old) acute diphthong can hardly come as surprise, but is inconsistent with the limitations introduced by the new hypothesis put forward in the book under scrutiny. On the whole, this recognition can hardly be used to question the Germanic origin of *\*pergyńi*, but rather should be regarded as a further exception / piece of counterevidence to the adaptation rule suggested by Dutch authors.

In the light of the foregoing discussion we are now entitled to definitively reject the etymology proposed by Matzenauer and endorsed by Leskien (1907: 200) and subsequently by many others,<sup>47</sup> which analyzes the word as *\*per-gyb-n-*. In Slavic, the prefix *\*per-*, unlike *\*vy-*, is not known for attracting the stress. It is true that the related *per-* is often acute in Baltic, and one could not question that some forms suggesting acute prefixal *\*per-* are known in Slavic as well (e.g. outcomes of *\*pergord-* in Russian dialects matched by certain lexical facts of other languages). Nevertheless, none of the outcomes of a segmental structure *\*per-gyb-* known to us (especially of those exhibiting fully developed topographic meanings) shows unambiguous reflexes of old acute in its initial syllable.<sup>48</sup> In these circumstances, dialectal Russian *непезуб* (SRNG 26: 64f., s.v.) or Slovak *priehyba* (cf. Fedorowicz 1975: 7f.) could serve merely as a semantic parallel testifying to the possibility that a structure combined of these elements could easily develop a topographic meaning, but not as the real base for derivation of *\*pergyńi*.

The Germanic loan etymology (Stender-Petersen 1927: 268f. < Proto-Germ. *\*fergūnjam*; Kiparsky 1934: 185f.; Anikin RES 3: 111f.; Pronk-Tiethoff 2013: 158) continues to be burdened with formal problems concerning inflection and vocalism of the medial syllable. Trying to overcome them, we should consider the following scenarios. Gothic *\*ferguni*<sup>49</sup> should have been adapted as *\*pergъnъ* (neuter or masculine *\*-i-stem*). Such a form is expected to have been inflected like a masculine

47 Cf. Kryński (1909: 227f.), Vasmer (1950–1958 2: 338), Hosák, Šrámek (1980: 317), ESJS (704, s.v. *prěgynja*).

48 For example, Croatian *prëgib* attested in anatomical meanings along with *prégib* can be traced back to *\*përgybъ*. Bulgarian *непезуба* (BER 5: 630, s.v.) can represent the *\*pōkora*-type (cf. Slovene *pregiba*). The verb *\*pergybati -ajō* does not stress the prefix any more.

*\*-i*-stem, so that a locative form *\*pergəni* (< *\*perguni<sub>2</sub>* < *\*pergunēi*), in view of numerous indigenous forms in *\*-ūnī* (> *\*-yŋi*) could be perceived as anomalous and “corrected” to *-ūnī* > *\*-yŋi*. As the loc. *\*pergyŋi* used without any determiners was ambiguous (it had no gender whatsoever in such situations), a new paradigm *\*pergyŋi*, the gen. sg. *\*pergyŋē* ~ *\*pergyŋē* etc. could easily be created.

As some West Germanic toponyms<sup>50</sup> would suggest a parallel strong feminine *\*fergunjā* (> *\*fergunjō*), a somewhat simplified account could be proposed. *\*Fergunjā* would be adapted as *\*pergunjā* > *\*pergəŋā*, so that not only the locative form, but virtually all case forms outside the nominative could constitute a point of departure for the hypercorrection suggested above (e.g., *\*pergəŋō* → *\*pergyŋō*).

Udolph (1991: 74f.; similarly Sławski in SP 1: 140) regarded the word as native and highly archaic, comparing it directly with Old Indic theonym *Parjanya-* < *\*Perǵénjō-*. A parallel semantic evolution of both *\*Perkʷŋ-* and *\*Perǵŋ-* into similar topographic meanings is not a very probable solution. The best etymology of *\*pergyŋi* would then be a derivation, with the native suffix *-yŋi*, from a nominal base *\*pěrg-*, preferably adjectival, although a noun would also be acceptable.<sup>51</sup> Unfortunately, evidence for an *a*-stressed *\*pergə* seems impossible to produce for the moment. Attempts were made to juxtapose *\*pergyŋi* with *\*porgə* and further with various words of other Indo-European groups (e.g. Lithuanian *pergas*, Latin *pergula*, *pergere*, *porgere*, even Greek *πύργος*, cf. Bańkowski ESJP 2: 800, s.v. *próg*), but the semantic development of their derivatives into the attested meanings of the Slavic lexeme is far from obvious.

- 49 The word is generally considered as an early Celtic borrowing (predating the loss of initial *p-* in Celtic and both Grimm’s and Verner’s laws of Proto-Germanic), although it could also be native. In the Gothic bible, it is attested inter alia in the nom. sg. form *ṣfairguni* (cf. Lehmann 1986: 104f.).
- 50 A survey of them is given by Udolph (1991: 75f.). Old English *firgen* n. (mentioned e.g. by Pronk-Tiethoff 2013: 158, perhaps after Kroonen 2013: 136, s.v. *\*fergunja-*) seems to be a ghost word. Both Ekwall (1936: 140) and Smith (1956: 171, as quoted by Udolph 1991: 73) insist that Old English *\*firgen* (*\*fyrgen*, *\*fiergen*) is attested exclusively as the first member of some compounds (*fergenberig* ‘mountain’, *fyrgen-bēam* ‘mountain tree’, *fyrgen-holt* ‘mountain wood’, *firgen-bucca*, *firgen-gāt* ‘ibex’), so that the determination of its inflection and grammatical gender must have been based entirely on an external comparison with the Gothic noun.
- 51 Cf. *\*ěskyŋi* ‘cave’ ← *\*ěskə* (SP 6: 142). Traces of an adjective *\*ěskə -a -o* suggested there are unknown.

## 9. Closing remarks

As far as *\*pergyŋi* is concerned, Pronk-Tiethoff did not succeed to enrich our knowledge in any respect. The brief entry in her book, apart from some minor inaccuracies, presents exclusively facts and opinions that have long been known in earlier literature on the subject. To the contrary, her presentation can be characterized as misleading to the extent that it creates the false impression that nothing has changed in our knowledge of the problem since at least 1934. As the results to be arrived at would be at variance with her general opinions advocated in the book, this flaw becomes all the more significant.

The above considerations testify to a growing gap between some Slavists, mainly those stemming from non-Slavic countries, who have been trying to present, as an example to follow, a kind of antiquarianism imported from the field of Indo-European studies and consisting in continuous tackling some lasting, unsolved and often largely insoluble issues with sometimes new (and questionable) methods, but still using the same limited corpus of relevant linguistic data as contained in earlier syntheses, and those of us who have come to realize that real (although not always spectacular) progress and lasting results can nowadays be achieved chiefly thanks to application of our time-honored methodological principles to new materials and problems. In Slavic linguistics, these have never been more abundant than today.

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